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ʻAina: Ke Ola O Na Kanaka ʻOiwi

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Our moʻolelo flows along a course inspired by our ʻaumaku and akua and informed by our kupuna. A reflection on the role of the land in the health of Native Hawaiians must begin with the origins of Native Hawaiians from the life forces of the land, as traced through moʻokuʻauhau or family genealogies. From this source, emerges the central role of the land in the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians, and unfolding from this relationship, Native Hawaiians have long believed in the power of the land to heal individuals, families, communities and the nation. Specifically, Native Hawaiians have identified specific places and natural resources which have healing powers. The healing places are visited and honored during key events in the cycle of life, from conception, to birth, family relations, death and beyond. Resources of the land - stones, water, and plants - are used for healing and for nourishment. In taking care of the land, Native Hawaiians provide for our own health and nourishment. This is conveyed, for example, in the traditional saying, He aliʻi ka ʻaina; he kauwa ke kanaka / The land is a chief; humans are its servants. The land has no need for humans, but humans need the land and work upon it for livelihood.[1] Finally, the ancestral lands passed on to Native Hawaiian descendants from our aliʻi, the monarchy, and our kupuna are integral to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians as a people. We want to note that, traditionally, the land and the ocean are inseparable and there are many coastal areas which are essential to Native Hawaiian health and healing. However, the ocean and Native Hawaiian health, will be discussed separately. *Please join us in this story of the land and the health of our people.*

ORIGINS

Na Hawaiʻi, the Native Hawaiian people, are descendants of the original inhabitants of the island archipelago, Hawaiʻi Pae ʻAina. Oral traditions passed on through chants, legends, myths and moʻokuʻauhau, trace the origins of the Native Hawaiian people to early Polynesian planters, fishers, healers, artists, engineers, priests, astronomers, and navigators and beyond them to the life forces of the land itself.

According to these genealogies, Native Hawaiians are the living descendants of Papa, the earth mother and Wakea, the sky father. Ancestral deities include Kane of the living fresh water sources such as streams and springs; and Lono of the winter rains and the life force for agricultural crops; as well as Kanaloa of the deep foundation of the earth, the ocean and its currents and winds; Ku of the thunder, war, fishing and planting; Hina of the moon and reef sheltered shores; Pele of the volcano; and Hoʻohokukalani maker of the stars. Thousands of deities of the forest, the ocean, the winds, the rains and other elements of nature are acknowledged as ancestors by Native Hawaiian families. Native Hawaiians of today have inherited the genes and mana of both our human ancestors and spiritual forces of the land.

Linkages to specific ancestral lands provide each ʻohana a sense of origin, place, and identity. Acknowledgement of such ancestry bears the responsibility to protect these lands and of its resources as we protect the members of our living ʻohana. George Helm, our friend with whom author Aluli helped found the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana wrote in his personal notes, "My veins are carrying the blood of a people who understand the sacredness of land and water. This is my culture and no matter how remote the past is, it does not make my culture extinct."[2]

Failure to protect ancestral lands can engender feelings of anxiety, sorrow, guilt, remorse, and depression. The authors have personally witnessed stress and poor health of family members who were unable to hold on to family kuleana because of rising costs and taxes.

We know of one middle-aged Native Hawaiian man who tried desperately to re-route the H-3 highway so as to avoid destruction of his family's spring in Kane'ohe. Within a few months that spring was covered over he died of a heart attack.

For Pele descendants, who refer to the god as Tutu Pele, it is important to allow her time on the island of Hawai'i to create. Geothermal energy presented a challenge to descendants of the Pele fire clan. Palikapuokamohoalii Dedman is a Pele descendant who has shared with us his insight into the personal responsibility born by those who carry a Pele family name, such as he, to protect the god. According to Dedman, when experimental geothermal wells and plants were built at Kapoho, he and other practitioners felt that Pele would take care of it. However, as the drilling continued and the plans for generating electricity expanded to the rainforests of Kahauale'a, he and the other practitioners who eventually formed the Pele Defense Fund(PDF) believed that they had to do something in their capacity to try to stop geothermal energy development. They contested the permit being issued by the Board of Land and Natural Resources. At that point, Pele, herself, intervened and blocked any geothermal energy development at Kahauale'a by erupting at Pu'u O'o beginning in January 1983 until now. Undeterred, the Campbell Estate, which owned Kahauale'a, managed to exchange their lava- covered lands for the state-owned Wao Kele O Puna rainforest. In partnership with a Wyoming company, they started to drill for a geothermal resource in Wao Kele O Puna. Over the following eleven years, PDF filed several civil suits and organized ceremonies and rallies of protest until the drilling was terminated in 1994.

Mr. Dedman explained that he had been conditioned from the Western practice that one could simply go to church on Sunday and ask the god to clean up damage done during the week. However, one night it came to him that he, as a Pele practitioner, bearing a Pele name, and tracing his genealogy to the deity had to do something. He explained, "It comes upon you at night and grabs you by your neck and sits on your chest and tells you that, 'You go out and you do it as a Hawaiian because you intelligent, you got the ability, and this is Hawai'i.' You don't pass the buck or lay your rubbish down to your gods to clean it up. You clean it up yourself. You made it, you clean it." Eventually, the Pele Defense Fund, in conjunction with the Hawaiian families of Kalapana, the broader Puna community and environmentalists were able to stop the largescale development of geothermal energy in the Wao Kele O Puna Forest.

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Land is at the center of Native Hawaiian spirituality, health and well-being. The land is alive, respected, treasured, praised and even worshipped. The land is "one hanau," sands of our birth, and resting place for our bones. The land lives as do the 'uhane, or spirits of all our ancestors who nurtured both physical and spiritual relationships with the land. The land has provided for generations of Native Hawaiians, and will hopefully provide for those yet to come.

When we live on and work the land, we become knowledgeable of the life of the land. In our daily activities, we develop a partnership with the land so as to know when to plant, fish, or heal our minds and bodies according to the ever changing weather, seasons and moons.

We acknowledge the 'aumakua and akua, the ancestral spirits and gods of special areas. We make offerings to them at their special places. So close is the relationship, that we learn the many personalities of the land, its form, features, character and

resources and name these, as we do our own children. The land is not viewed as a commodity, it is the foundation of our cultural and spiritual identity as Hawaiians. We trace our lineage to the lands originally settled by our ancestors. These ancestral lands are part of our genealogy. The land is a part of our 'ohana and we care for it as we do the other living members of our families.

HEALING POWER OF THE LAND

Throughout history, the Hawaiian people have maintained a deep abiding faith in the land. We honor its power to provide physical sustenance, spiritual strength, and political empowerment. "Without the land, we are nothing," is a commonly held belief.

Hawaiians who petitioned King Kamehameha III in 1845 not to sell land to foreigners reflected this viewpoint when they wrote:

> "If, perhaps, the land is covered over and crowded with the dollars of those who purchase land, from Hawaii to Kauai. Ten, perhaps a hundred thousand million. Will most of these dollars be for the land if we agree to its sale? We will not have anything at all to say about this money. Very few indeed will be the dollars in the hands of the true Hawaiians, and in the land. The land strives [kulia] for revenue every day. The earth continues to receive its wealth and its distinction every day. There would be no end of worldly goods to the very end of this race. But, the money from the sale of land is quickly ended, by ten years time." [3]

Members of the Aha Hui Pu'uhonua O Na Hawai'i (Hawaiian Protective Association) held the same kind of trust and reliance upon the land when they worked to establish the Hawaiian Home Lands Program from 1918 through 1921. The following is an excerpt from a memorial that they sent to the U.S. Congress:

> "The soil is a redeeming factor in the life of any race, and our plan for the rehabilitation of the Hawaiians is futile unless the question of returning to mother earth takes precedence to all other considerations in such a plan. ...In so far as experience has proven and as much as science has revealed, physical health and vigor, the power to propagate the race, eradication of diseases, the restoration of normal domestic living conditions, the elimination of poverty and pauperism, the establishment of business relationship with the business world, the deepened appreciation of the soil and of the material wealth, - all of these benefits come, not by the fashionable [sic] life of this century, but, by the intimate acquaintance with the life and the possibilities of the soil." [4]

Native Hawaiian Historian Edward Kanahele wrote an essay, "The Significance of Wahi Pana" as the introduction to Ancient Sites of O'ahu in 1991 which reaffirmed the significance of the land to the Native Hawaiian identity:

> "For native Hawaiians, a place tells us who we are and who is our extended family. A place gives us our history, the history of our clan, and the history of our ancestors. We are able to look at a place and tie in human events that affect us and our loved ones. A place gives us a feeling of stability and of belonging to our family - those living and those who have passed on. A place gives us a sense of well-being and of acceptance of all who have experienced that place. A wahi pana is, therefore, a place of spiritual power which links Hawaiians to our past and our future." [5]

Each of these passages reflect the belief that Native Hawaiian health and well-being - physically, spiritually, and politically - are rooted in a close and stable connection to the land. Moreover, these thoughts were linked to actions to protect the relationship of the Native Hawaiians to the land, in order to keep Native Hawaiians healthy.

The 1845 petitioners sought to protect the traditional relations of the King, chiefs and people to the land and stop the process ofthe Mahele and the creation of private property ownership of the lands of Hawai'i. The petitioners foresaw the alienation of the Native Hawaiian people from the land under such a process.

The Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Na Hawai'i, whose executive secretary was Noa Webster Aluli, grandfather of author Noa Emmett Aluli, worked to stop the extinction of the Native Hawaiian people who were being decimated by tuberculosis and the flu while living in crowded tenaments and squatter villages in downtown Honolulu. They worked with the Hawai'i territorial legislature, Delegate to Congress Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, the U.S. Department of Interior, and the U.S. Congress to establish the Hawaiian Home Lands Program to set aside 200,000 acres for Native Hawaiians to be rehabilitated on lands, outside of urban Honolulu.

Edward Kanahele helped found the Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation with his wife, Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele and her 'ohana. The Foundation conducts cultural and educational programs, workshops and has founded a public charter school rooted in land-based projects at Waipi'o Valley and in Keaukaha, Hawai'i. We, the authors, were honored to work with Edward Kanahele and the Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation in the founding of Hui Malama I Na Kupuna o Hawai'i Nei, an organization which works to protect and provide proper treatment of Native Hawaiian burials and burial remains.

HEALING PLACES

Select places and resources were recognized to have special powers of healing. Structures for healing were also constructed to focus healing life forces at these sites. We discuss the more prominent places and sites below and note that there are many more healing places and sites which are known only to local communities and 'ohana.

Pohaku or stones are believed to hold mana or spiritual power. Pohaku are featured in shrines as a manifestations of 'aumakua or family guardians and akua or deities and 'uhane or spirits. Throughout the islands are famous and named pohaku which figure prominently in healing and health.

Perhaps, the most famous pohaku are Kukaniloko, the birthing stones of ali'i of the highest rank at Halemano, O'ahu. According to sources cited in Sites of Oahu by Elspeth Sterling and Catherine Summers, Kukaniloko was established by Nanakaoko and his wife Kahihiokalani as the place for the birth of their son Kapawa.[6] A row of 18 stones, credited with the power to absorb pain, was laid down on both the right side and the left side of the central birthing stone, Kukaniloko, a large stone that supported the mother in a semi-sitting position. A chief stood at each of the 36 stones to witness the birth. When the chief was born, it was taken inside the Waihau Heiau of Ho'olonopahu where 48 chiefs conducted birth ceremonies, including the cutting of the naval cord, and the kapu drums named Opuku and Hawea were sounded to announce the birth of a divine chief.

The Nana'ulu line of chiefs were born here, as were Ma'ilikukahi, Kakuhihewa and La'a. Kamehameha I attempted to have high chiefess Keoopuolani give birth to Liholiho at Kukaniloko, however, according to Kamakau, when she went there, the child did not come, and she went back.[7]

Two famous healing stones of Wahiawa were temporarily located at Kukaniloko after their discovery at a nearby stream. Tradition tells of two sisters from Kaua'i whose supernatural powers were only effective during the hours of darkness. They used their

powers to "fly" to O'ahu to visit Kukaniloko, but were caught by the first rays of the sun near their destination and dropped by the bank of the stream in Kaukonahua gulch where they turned into stones. They lay there until the early 1900s, when the road through the gulch was widened. After dislodging the stone, the foreman had a dream in which a stone repeatedly said to him "you have my feet up and my head down, please turn me around". Returning to the construction site the next day, he recognized the stone and had it turned over. Two old Hawaiian men assisted him and then they revealed that the stone was named Kaniniulaokalani and held a spirit that should be cared for. The foreman arranged for this stone and its companion to be taken to Kukaniloko. In 1925, the stones were included in a rededication ceremony at Kukaniloko. At that time, the stones gained attention when pineapple workers reported miraculous cures because of the stones. The stones became the destination for healing pilgrimages and the Daughters of Hawaii, who were the caretakers of Kukaniloko, decided to remove the stones to a cemetery in Wahiawa. There they became even more popular. People came from miles to visit them. The smaller stone was reputed to have special healing powers for women and young children. Stalls selling leis, water, incense, fruit and candies for use as offerings sprang up. Sometimes offerings of a thousand dollars a month were reported in 1927. The popularity of the site declined with curfews and rationings during World War II. The cemetery became the site of a suburban housing development. In 1948 the stones were moved once again to their present location at 108 California Street in Wahiawa where a Japanese shrine-like crypt was erected over the stones.

A second famous birth site of chiefs is Holohoku Heiau on the north side of the Wailua River at the base of Puuki Ridge on Kaua'i. Pohaku Ho'ohanau was the birthing stone where high ranking chiefesses would travel to give birth to their sacred children. The afterbirth and umbilical cord was deposited in an adjacent stone, Pohaku Piko. When a chiefly child was born, the birth would be heralded by sounding the nearby Bell Stone perched above on Puuki Ridge.

The Pohakuloa stone at the Wilder gate of Punahou School is part of a larger birth stone that was 12 feet long and was worshipped by Hawaiian women who prayed for their children to have wisdom and strength. The other part of the stone, according to Gutmanis, was given to a Japanese consul living at the corner of Beretania and Makiki streets. Kapi'olani Maternity Home was later built at this site and some believe that the mana of this pohaku was a factor in its siting.[8]

The Naha Stone of Hawai'i island, weighed an estimated 3.5 tons and lifting it served as a test of King Kamehameha I's capacity to unite all of the islands. It also served as a birth stone, in that an infant placed upon the stone would remain silent if he were of Naha lineage and would cry if he were not.[9]

Pohaku also factored into the conception of children. On Moloka'i, the famous phallic stone, Kauleonanahoa at Pala'au, Moloka'i has the power to help women conceive. According to tradition, if a woman goes to Kauleonanahoa with offerings and spends the night there, she will return home pregnant. Catherine Summers provides and account by W.J. Coelho from Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a of June 12, 1924:

> "...kahunas were asked to appeal to the gods for the race to revive. Through a revelation received, all the women who were not pregnant were commanded to go to Pu'u Lua with their offereings to give to Kaunanahoa and his companion. They spent the night at the base of the wonderful (stone) and when they went home each was pregnant."[10]

According to Vanda Hanakahi of Moloka'i, the women brought ho'okupu of three fish - kumu, awa, and kala. The kumu symbolized the reason and source causing the women to be barren, the 'awa represented the bitterness of that experience, and the kala

represented the cleansing away of that condition.[11] Vanda explains that these three ho'okupu are generally appropriate to offer in petitions for healing, as symbols of the source of an illness (kumu), the suffering endured because of the illness (awa), and the cleansing away of the illness to enable healing (kala).

A child's piko or umbilical cord and the 'iēwe or placenta were used to connect the child to its ancestral land. Piko were secured in the natural cracks or carved niches of pohaku, as in the example of Pohaku Piko at Wailua, Kaua'i. At Pu'u Loa in Puna and 'Anaeho'omalu and Puako, West Hawai'i, families wrapped the piko of a newborn child in kapa, placed it in cup impressions carved into the pahoehoe and covered it with a stone. Sometimes concentric circles were carved into the rock around the cupped impression to symbolize a male and semicircles were carved to denote a female. The purpose of this practice was to absorb mana from the pohaku for the health and spiritual strength of the infant.[12] According to Mary Kawena Pukui, every district on every island had pohaku reserved for piko. She mentioned Wailoa and Mokuola on Hawai'i.[13] At Mokuola, the piko were placed under a flat stone called Papa a Hina. On Moloka'i, the piko of infants were taken to Keanaohina, the cave of Hina on the border of Mapulehu and Kalua'aha and buried there.[14] On Maui, the piko were placed in crevices on Pohaku Hauola, discussed below and in caves such as Eleili in Waihe'e.[15]

The 'iēwe or placenta provided another moment to connect the newborn child to the land of his or her ancestors. It was usually buried in the planting of a specially selected tree on the family's land to mark the child's birth. Just as the tree grew close to home, it was hoped that the child would keep close to home.[16] The 'olelo no'eau, 'iēwe hānau o ka 'āina which translates into "Natives of the land, People who were born and dwelt on the land," signifies that it was common to associate the 'iēwe with persons who were native to an area and sustained a continuity with their family's land. Many Native Hawaiian families, for example on Moloka'i, endeavor to continue this practice and request that they be given a newborn's placenta. This should be widely honored as a birthing practice as is the case on Moloka'i.

At Waikīkī, O'ahu on Kūhio Beach are four pohaku believed to embody the spirits of 4 great wizards who had come to Hawai'i from Moaulanuiakea, Tahiti - Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi. They gained fame and popularity because they were able to cure the sick by laying their hands upon them. Before they returned to Tahiti, they asked the people to erect four large pohaku as a permanent reminder of their visit and the cures they had accomplished. On the night of Kane, the people began to move the rocks from Kaimuki to Kuhio Beach. When they were in place, each of the wizards named a stone after themself and embued the stone with powers.

In Lahaina, Maui, over the sea wall at the ocean end of Lahaina Power & Light is the Hauola Stone which according to legend is a young girl who the gods turned to stone to save her from enemies. Kahuna La'au Lapa'au, Hawaiian herbal medical healers sent their patients to bathe in the sacred sea water at this stone and many were cured. Elspeth Sterling describes Hauola and its healing power in Sites of Maui as follows:

> "The rock that looks like a modern chair with a spacious seat and a small angular back is the healing rock, the front of which is worn hollow. Hawaiians believe that ailing people had only to sit in the seat, dangle their legs in the water, and let the waves wash over them to regain their health."[17]

Keaīwa Heiau in Aiea, O'ahu is one of the known heiau ho'ola or centers for the training of kahuna la'au lapa'au. Novices in training to become kahuna la'au lapa'au spent long hours in this heiau fasting, praying and meditating. They were taught the prayers

needed to draw out the healing power of the native plants in order to heal the sick. The novices also cared for a great garden of native medicinal plants outside of the walls of the heiau. After a period of training, the novice was sent to other medical centers to learn the advanced art of diagnosis and other forms of treatments.

The island of Moloka'i, known as "Pule 'O'o" or island of strong prayer, was a renown center for the training of kahuna, including kahuna la'au lapa'au. Ka'ie'ie, in Mahana on the west end of Moloka'i was a refuge for the highest order of Kahuna known as the 'Umoumou.[18]

Hale O Papa or heiau dedicated to earth mother Papa were special places for the healing of women. Women received prenatal and postnatal care at the Hale O Papa and treatment for other illnesses particular to females. At the Hale O Papa on Kaho'olawe, which sits on a sand dune, there are several burials of women and a few infants and young children in and around the structure. These burials sanctify the Hale O Papa then and now. The Hale O Papa in Halawa, O'ahu became a rallying point of concern in the 1980's and 1990's when it was threatened to be destroyed by the trans-Ko'olau freeway, TH-3. A young woman chose to give birth to her child on the Hale O Papa to inscribe the heiau with its ongoing significance to contemporary Native Hawaiian women.

The power of stones were also utilized in other forms. Small stones or 'ili'ili are heated and used in lomilomi or massage to relieve stressed muscles. Larger heated stones wrapped in ti leaves are also used. 'Ili'ili were arranged in the shape of a man and his vital organs on a mat and used to teach anatomy to novice kahuna la'au lapa'au. This practice was called ho'onoho i ka 'ili'ili.

Pele, the female god of the volcano who creates new lands and pohaku is the one deity who continued to be honored and worshipped despite the abolition of the official chiefly religion and sites of worship. Her realm in Kilauea and Mauna Loa where she actively manifests is sacred to her and her family. Pele is an important inspiration, protector, and healer of the Hawaiian people, especially the Pele families. Her beauty is inspiring. The whole experience of seeing her, an ancestor, alive and active pulls you into identifying with being Hawaiian and part of this whole family. When Pele erupts, flows, steams, her families and followers visit her. The kupuna speak of seeing her family members, their different manifestations, and of seeing Pele, herself. For the Pele families she provides a real element of protection and healing. They throw their hair or teeth into the volcano. They offer the bones and ashes of dead family members upon their death. They give these to Pele to heal and to permanently cover and protect. The la'au that is gathered in the forests of Hi'iaka, the healer with the power of rebirth, is all part of the protection and the healing. Hi'iaka, as revealed in the episode of Lohi'au in the saga, "Pele and Hi'iaka", has the ultimate power of restoring life to the departed, as she was able to bring Lohi'au back to life. Being part of the Pele line makes you part of a strong family system with connection to Pele, her sisters, her uncles. As discussed above, tracing ancestry to Pele, the life force of the volcano bears the responsibility to protect this god.

Beginning in the 1980s, the island of Kaho'olawe grew to symbolize the cumulative collective pain of the Native Hawaiian people as a result of the colonization of the Hawaiian islands by the American government, particularly the military abuse of Hawaiian lands. Through the course of the struggle to stop the bombing and military use of the island, kupuna revealed that families who experienced discord and hardships and problems would journey to Kaho'olawe to cleanse themselves of these difficulties. When they left the island, they left their troubles behind and could return home to heal. Kaho'olawe, its original significance and subsequent devastation, forced our generation of Native Hawaiians to realize and reclaim our responsibility to care for and heal the land of our ancestors and from whom we are descended. Through Kaho'olawe we began to live together as Hawaiians and

practice the religion and traditions learned from our kupuna and heal the land. The work to heal the island of Kaho'olawe has helped heal the soul of our people and will continue to do so. It has also inspired the movement to reclaim sovereignty and re-establish a Native Hawaiian government. Under law, the island is being held in trust by the State of Hawai'i for eventual transfer to the Native Hawaiian nation.

BURIALS AND LEINA

In death and beyond, Native Hawaiians consecrated special areas as their resting places and recognized special points to enter into the next life. "Mai kaula'i wale i ka iwi o na kupuna / Do not dry out the bones of the ancestors." Do not discuss your ancestors too freely with strangers, for it is like exposing their bones for all to see. This is one of the 'olelo no'eau or wise sayings concerning Hawaiian bones that reflects this generally held attitude to protect Hawaiian burial remans. This is still a deeply held ethic. In conducting oral history research, for example, we find that informants will usually stop short of discussing anything about family burials or bones, except in very general terms. Traditionally, Native Hawaiians have believed that ancestral mana is passed on and resides in our bones. Proper burial treatment of our Kupuna is essential to maintain their mana and our mana as their descendants.

In the Ke Au 'Oko'a of September 1870, Kamakau described how the people of old Hawai'i, prior to the rise of ruling chiefs, buried their loved ones in common graveyards. According to Kamakau, in the very ancient times, corpses were buried in graveyards that were well known throughout the islands. He described the ancient graveyards at Pohukaina on Windward O'ahu, between Kualoa and Ka'a'awa; 'Iao Valley on Maui; Waiuli, above Honokohau, Honolua and Honokahua on Maui; Ka'a'awa on the eastern edge of the Ke'anae Gap on Haleakala; Papaluana at Kipahulu, Maui; Pu'uwepa in Kohala; Ka'iliki'i in Ka'u; Kaloko in Kona;Nakoaka'alahina on Kaua'i; and Kapalikalahale on Ni'ihau. For example, the coastal sand dunes served as the final resting place for Hawaiian people who lived in the Honolua-Honokahua district from 900 A.D. through the 1800's.

The practice of hiding burials and holding their location secret evolved in a later period when, according to Kamakau, "wicked and traitorous, and desecrating chiefs, dug up the bones of the dead from burial grounds and used the bones for arrows and fishooks." Kamakau described the general concern of the Hawaiian people which led them to begin the practice of laying their loved ones to rest in caves, ravines and cliffs:

> "Consternation arose in every family, and they sought places of concealment for the bones of their grandparents, parents, children, chiefs, and relatives. They searched for deep pits in the mountains, and for hiding pits and hiding caves along the deep ravines and sheer cliffs frequented by koa'e birds. There they deposited the precious bones of their loved ones, without a thought for their own weariness, the heavy load they carried, or their own possible death; with no other thought except that they were carrying out the 'last will,' the kauoha, of their loved one. ...The places mentioned in the kauoha are the burial pits and caves of the ancestors. They are well hidden from the eyes of men, and unknown to the 'wizards of the night,' kupua o ka po., who might reveal them."

In the Ke Au 'Oko'a of May 1869 Kamakau expanded upon the practice of secret burials. He explained how the Hawaiian burial ritual was carried out in secret and how the knowledge of its location was kept secret by a selected descendant. He emphasized how care of the bones was strictly a family responsibility and not to be shared with any strangers. He also described how the burials established unmistakable and irrevocable claims to the land. He wrote:

> "In old days the inheritance of the family burial place, the caves and secret burial places of our ancestors was handed down from these to their descendants without the intrusion of a single stranger unless by consent of the descendant, so that wherever a death occurred the body was conveyed to its inheritance. These immovable barriers belonged to burial rights for all time. The rule of kings and chiefs and their land agents might change, but the burial rights of families survived on their lands. Here is one proof of the people's right to the land. With this right of the common people to the land is connected an inherent love of the land of one's birth inherited from one's ancestors, so that men do not [willingly] wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors."

Special places are recognized as leina a ka 'uhane or leaping places of souls into the spirit world. Samuel Kamakau described these places as follows:

> "The leina a ka 'uhane on Oahu was close to the cape of Ka'ena, on its right (or north, 'akau) side, as it turns toward Waialua, near the cutoff (alanui 'oki) that goes down to Keaoku'uku'u. The boundaries of this leina a ka 'uhane, it is said were Kaho'iho'ina- Wakea, a little below Kakahe'e, and the leaping place (kawa-kai) of Kilauea at Keawa'ula. At these places would be found helpful 'aumakua souls who might bring back the spirit and restore life to the body, or if not, might welcome it to the realm of the 'aumakua. Places within the boundaries mentioned were where souls went to death in the po pau 'ole, endless night.
>
> There were Leina-a-ka-'uhane and 'Ulu-o-Leiwalo on Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kauai, and Niihau as well as on Oahu. The traditions about these places were the same. The were where spirits were divided (mahele ana) to go into the realm of wandering spirits, the ao kuewa or ao 'auwana; or to the ancestral spirit realm, the ao 'aumakua; or to the realm of endless night, the po pau 'ole."

On Maui, the leina a ka 'uhane are at Keka'a and the plains of Kamaomao.The cliff ledge overlooking the ocean on Pu'u Kekaa or Black Rock at Ka'anapali Beach is the leina a ka 'uhane. On Moloka'i, there is a leina a ka 'uhane in Kipu, at the center of the island, and at Kai'aka Rock in the West. According to tradition, the spirits were attracted to the sweet fragrant hala fruit growing at the base of the pali, near Nihoa. Polihale is the leina on Kaua'i.

HEALING WATERS

Ponds and springs sacred to mo'o also held healing powers. In Liliha on O'ahu, the Kunawai spring was sacred to the mo'o, Ka-hanai-a-ke-akua. Those who were ill and bathed in the pool fed by this spring were cured of their illness.

Even as late as the 1960's, kupuna informants in Hana spoke of an old blind woman, Tutu Pale, who claimed kinship to a mo'o who lived in a nearby pond in Hana. She often walked to the pond in the moonlight to fish, and talked with someone as she went along. She explained that her cousin, the mo'o, frequently accompanied her to the pond. After ten years, she regained her eyesight. Later her son put her in a home and his legs swelled up and would not heal until he asked forgiveness for placing his mother in the home rather than taking care of her. [19]

Kawainui Pond, was the home of the mo'o Hauwahine. The lepo or mud was called lepo ai ia or edible mud. It resembled haupia pudding in texture, but had the color of poi. According to legend it was brought to Kawainui from the pillars of Kahiki by Kaulu, a chief of Kailua. When there was a shortage of taro in Kailua while King Kamehameha and his entourage stayed there, the men of

Kailua got the lepo ai ia from Kawainui Pond and fed it to the warriors and servants of Kamehameha in their calabashes.[20]

According to tradition, women unable to conceive could become pregnant by drinking from a spring at Kihapi'ilani Hill in Kaluako'i. The flowing waters of Kupuwailani spring atop Kamakou, the highest point on Moloka'i, holds sacred and healing power. The logo of the Hua Kanawao Ka Liko Generational Study of Heart Health among the Native Hawaiians of Moloka'i incorporates a design of this spring to represent the infusion of this work with the traditional healing forces of the island. Traditionally, healers on Moloka'i sought the waters, Waipilihoa 'o 'Īloli, named for the companion gods Kane and Kanaloa, in Pala'au to use in herbal remedies. In June 2005, the Moloka'i General Hospital dedicated its new facility which has art designs representative of these fresh water springs to symbolize that it is a facility providing healing and health for the people of Moloka'i. [21]

NOURISHING AND HEALING PLANTS

Probably the best known and clearest connection between the land and Native Hawaiian health is the use of natural elements and native plants in the healing of a variety of injuries and ailments. Plant remedies were prepared with water - wai pa'akai or salt water, wai puna or spring water, or rain water that was caught in a kalo leaf and called wai lani, wai pu'olo, wai hua or wai''apo. Pa'akai or salt was often mixed with the plants to express its juices. 'Alaea, red ocher or hematite, was gathered from veins in the earth and used to enhance the potency of herbal mixtures with iron.

Plants that were staple foods were not only important for nourishment, but were also used in medical treatments.[22] Remedies might be mixed in with cooked taro or sweet potato to administer them to the patient. Varieties of raw grated or scraped taro were combined with other elements for pulmonary or consumption illness. Raw kalo or taro was mixed with the ash of burnt coconut meat and smeared in a child's mouth to cure thrush. Nutritious young uala or sweet potato leaves were fed to invalids and pregnant women to invigorate them. A broken sweet potato vine could be worn as a lei to induce the flow of milk in a nursing mother. Leaf buds of the 'ulu or breadfruit, pounded with 'alaea was also a treatment for thrush. The gum from the breadfruit was used for certain skin irritations. Select mai'a or banana varieties were used as the pani or food consumed to complete the dosage of an herbal remedy. Juice squeezed out of the roots of certain varieties of banana could also be used to cure thrush. Uhi or yams were used as an ingredient in remedies for coughs, vomiting blood, constipation, appendicitis, apoplexy and dysentary. The uncooked starch of arrowroot was used to cure diarrhea and when mixed with
'alaea it was used to cure dysentery.

Many native domestic plants have healing qualities in addition to their primary uses. Ko or sugar cane was chewed to strengthen the teeth of children. Cane juice could be fed to nursing infants and to sick children who were not otherwise eating. It is also used to sweeten herbal remedies, or the cane itself was chewed after taking a bitter concoction. The root of the 'awa or the pepper plant is prepared as a popular narcotic beverage for relaxation, relieving muscle aches and for sleep. Medicinally, 'awa was taken for congestion in the urinary tract, rheumatism and asthma. The yellow tip of the hala or pandanus root is used in medical remedies. It is a source of vitamin B. The buds of the hala leaves are also used for medicine. The bark of wauke or paper mulberry, used primarily for kapa or bark cloth, was also chewed to strengthen the teeth of children. Strips of wauke bark were also worn around the neck to induce the flow of breast milk. The slimy sap has laxative properties and can be added to remedies for that purpose. The unfurled soft leaf of a kī or ti plant was chewed to induce phlegm in cases of a dry cough. Eaten in quantity kī leaves have a laxative effect. A leaf of kī, placed on the forehead or body of a person ill with fever, draws out the heat and reduces the temperature. 'Olena or tumeric juice is used to relieve earaches. The root could be chewed and swallowed for consumption. The leaves, flowers, rind, nut and bark of the kukui or candlenut tree were used in native medicine. The juice of the rind or inner bark

is prescribed for sore throat, coughs and congestion. The sap of the green kukui nut is used to treat thrush, sore throats and cold sores. The nut is a cathartic and used in enemas. The ash of the burnt nut is used to clean cuts to prevent infection. DThe leaves are applied as poultices for swelling. Kukui flowers are chewed to heal sore throat and swollen tonsils. The mashed nut is rubbed on sores on the scalp and body. The hau tree sap and the base of its blossoms without its petals were used as a mild laxative. The hau sap was drunk by a woman in labor.

A wide variety of wild plants have healing qualities and are prescribed in medical remedies. Beach plants such as the pohuehue or beach morning glory, pa'u-o-Hi'iaka, naupaka, hinahina and kauna'oa are brewed into medicinal teas and tonics. A study conducted in 1995-97 to understand how contemporary healers practice the art of la'au lapa'au derived a list of 154 native plants used for healing.[23] Among these, five plants were identified as the most important - the domestic kukui and 'olena discussed above, together with wild or cultivated popolo, 'uhaloa, and ha'uowi. Popolo leaves, stems and berries are used to cure upper respiratory conditions such as colds, cough, congestion, fever, thrush and asthma. Popolo leaves made into a poultice helps one expel mucus and can be placed on the manawa po'o or baby's fontanel for colds, cough and congestion. 'Uhaloa is also used for upper respiratory ailments such as colds, cough, congestion, thrush, and to lower blood pressure. A tea made from its roots relieves sore throat. Ha'uowi is made into a poultice and applied for broken bones, sprains and bruises. Made into a tea it can treat diabetes and high blood pressure.

Forest plants such as ko'oko'olau, 'ala-'ala-wai-nui, 'ohi'a-lehua, moa, wawae-'iole, mamaki, laukahi and 'alani are also significant. Protection of native forest plants is a major concern given that Hawai'i already has the highest extinction rate of endemic species in the U.S. When the Wao Kele O Puna Forest in Hawai'i, the largest contiguous lowland rainforest in the Hawaiian Islands, was targeted for the development of geothermal energy, as discussed above, environmentalists and Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners joined together to protect the forest. Hawaiian herbal medical healer, Henry Auwae, opposed the development because it threatened to destroy a huge reserve of important medicinal plants such as lama, kopiko, ohunui and 'ohi'a lehua. Our success in stopping the development of geothermal energy rescued this vast resource for future generations of Native Hawaiians. The purchase of the Wao Kele O Puna forest through the Federal Forest Legacy Program and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 2005, whereby title is held by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs for eventual transfer to a sovereign Native Hawaiian governing entity will guarantee permanent protection of the la'au of this vast pristine forest.

THE LAND AS OUR LEGACY

As we end our overview of land and NativeHawaiian health we reflect upon the ancestral lands passed on to Native Hawaiian descendants from our ali'i, the monarchy, and our kupuna. These are certainly integral to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians as a people native to our Hawaiian islands.

The first ali'i trust was established in 1871 by William Charles Lunalilo whose will established the Lunalilo Trust after his death in 1874. His legacy focused on the health and well- being of Hawaiian kupuna. The mission of his trust, up to present, is to support the Lunalilo Home for "poor, destitute and infirm people of Hawaiian (aboriginal) blood or extraction, giving preference to old people." The Lunalilo Trust provides for the health and well-being of elder Native Hawaiians who receive nursing care in Lunalilo Home.

In 1883, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop designed her will to establish the Kamehameha Schools for "the support and education of orphans, and others in indigent circumstances, giving the preference to Hawaiians of pure or part aboriginal blood." Her husband,

Charles Reed Bishop who helped her draft the will and served as one of the first trustees of her estate clarified the intent of the Princess in an inaugural address at the opening of the schools and letters to fellow trustees and school administrators. In a particular letter to written to Mr. Charles Hyde in February 1897 he wrote, "There is nothing in the will of Mrs. Bishop excluding white boys or girls from the Schools, but it is understood by the Trustees that only those having native blood are to be admitted at present, that they are to have the preference so long as they avail themselves of the privileges open to them to a reasonable extent."[24] Since the establishment of the schools in 1887 and until present, the Trustees have consistently given preference to Native Hawaiian youth for admission into the schools, a policy which has been challenged in the U.S. courts in the twenty-first century and defended by a broad base of Native Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians.

Queen Emma created her trust in 1884 to support the Queen's hospital which she and her husband, King Kamehameha IV, had founded and funded in 1859. At the time that Queen Emma set up her trust, Queen's Hospital was a national hospital of the Kingdom of Hawai'i which received legislative funds to provide free care for "indigent sick and disabled Hawaiians."

Under the Territory of Hawai'i, the Territorial legislature cut funding to the Hospital. At that point, Queen's Hospital terminated its policy of providing free medical care to indigent Native Hawaiians. 1967, the Queen Emma Trust was dissolved. The Queen Emma Foundation was established in 1979 to manage the lands endowed by the Queen. The mission statements of the Queen's Health System and the Queen's Medical Center acknowledge a special responsibility to Native Hawaiians. The Foundation provides some support for health care in Native Hawaiian communities such as Ko'olauloa on O'ahu and on the island of Moloka'i.

In 1909, Queen Lili'uokalani established her trust for "the benefit of orphan and other destitute children in the Hawaiian Islands, the preference to be given to Hawaiian children of pure or part aboriginal blood." The trust continues to provide services to support the well-being of Native Hawaiian 'ohana.

The Crown and government lands of the Kingdom of Hawai'i is the legacy of the Hawaiian monarchy to Native Hawaiians. Prince Kuhio described the nature of this legacy in an article he wrote for The Mid-Pacific Magazine in February 1921:

The act creating the executive department contained a statute establishing a board of royal commissioners to quiet land titles. ... This board decided that there were but three classes of vested or original rights in land, which were in the King or Government, the chiefs, and the common people, and these three classes of interest were about equal in extent. ...The common people, being left out in the division after being recognized as owners of a third interest in the kingdom, believing that new methods had to be adopted to place them in possession, assumed that these lands were being held in trust by the crown for their benefit. However, the lands were not reconveyed to the common people, and it was so held by each monarch from the time of the division in 1848 to the time of the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani in 1893.[25]

The Crown and Government lands were ceded to the U.S. government in 1898 at the time of Annexation. In 1921, the special rights of Native Hawaiians in these lands were recognized when Congress supported Prince Kuhio's proposal to set aside 200,000 acres of these lands for Native Hawaiians and created the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Congress also recognized the special rights of Native Hawaiians in these lands in the 1959 Admissions Act which required the State of Hawai'i to manage the ceded public lands as a trust to partly benefit Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian Homelands are of singular importance to the well-being of Native Hawaiian families who reside and derive livelihoods on these lands. Part of the revenues from the ceded lands public trust funds the Office of Hawaiian Affairs which given some support to Native Hawaiian health care programs. Repatriation of these lands to

the Native Hawaiian people is at the core of Native Hawaiians' sovereign rights and claims and essential to sustaining the well-being of Native Hawaiians as a people.

Ancestral kuleana lands form the home base for Native Hawaiian families and 'ohana. Sustaining ancestral kuleana is the core relationship of Native Hawaiians to the land and an important measure of the well-being and functionality of 'ohana, as discussed above. After all...without the land we are nothing.

Throughout the decades, our kupuna and we, ourselves, have become involved in struggles to protect our 'aina, our legacy and the health and well-being of our families and our people on the 'aina. The motto of our nation, first proclaimed by King Kamehameha III on July 31, 1843 when Britain restored and recognized the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, is Ua mau ke ea o ka 'aina i ka pono, The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness. To this we add, Ua mau ke ea o na kanaka 'oiwi i ka '<mac >ina, The life of the Native Hawaiian people is perpetuated in the land. Aloha 'aina.

[1] Mary Kawena Pukui, 'olelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, Special Publication No. 71, p. 62, 531.

[2] George Helm, "Notes" n.d., files 9, 10, box 1, Helm Collection, UH Hamilton Library, cited in Mansel G. Blackford, "Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe," The Journal of American History, September 2004, pp 544 - 571.

[3] Petition of fifty-two people from Kailua, Kona on June 25, 1845 to the King and the Council of Chiefs, in Hawai'i State Archives.

[4] HA, Delegate Kalanianaole File, "Memorial to Congress from the Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Na Hawai'i."

[5] Edward Kanahele, Introduction to Ancient Sites of O'ahu: A Guide to Hawaiian Archaeological Places of Interest, Van James, Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu: 1991.

[6] Elspeth Sterlin and Catherine Summers, Sites of Oahu. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978, pp. 138 - 140.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Sterling and Summers, p. 283. Gutmanis, p. 20. Jan Becket and Joseph Singer, Pana O'ahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land.Honolulu: UH Press, 1999.

[9] Van James, Ancient Sites of Hawai'i: Archaeological Places of Interest on the Big Island, Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995, p. 53-4.

[10] Catherine Summers, Molokai: A Site Survey. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1971.

[11] Vanda Hanakahi, personal communication, September 3, 2005

[12] Van James, 1995, p. 66-7, 120-21 and 130-31.

[13] Mary Kawena Pukui, E.W Haertig, Catherine Lee, Nana I Ke Kumu: Look to the Source. Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1972, p. 184.

[14] George P. Cooke, Moolelo o Molokai: A Ranch Story of Molokai, Honolulu: Honolulu Star- Bulletin, 1949, p. 152.

[15] Elspeth Sterling, Sites of Maui. Honolulu; Bishop Museum Press, 1998, pp. 34 & 66.

[16] Pukui, 1972, p. 184.

[17] Sterling, 1998, p 34.

[18] Shared by John Kaimikaua and Vanda Hanakahi in the dedication program for the Moloka'i General Hospital, June 25, 2005.

[19] Julia Naone, May 3, 1960, #85.4.

[20] Sterling and Summers, pp 231-232

[21] Kaimikaua and Hanakahi, Moloka'i General Hospital dedication program, June 25, 2005

[22] Sources for the section are E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, with Mary Kawena Pukui, Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991; and June Gutmanis, and Theodore Kelsey, Kahuna La'au Lapa'au, Hawaiian Herbal Medicine. Honolulu: Island Heritage, 2004.

[23] Nanette Kapulani Mossman Judd, "Laau Lapaau: herbal healing among contemporary Hawaiian healers," Pacific Health Dialog, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 239 -245.

[24] Harold Kent, Charles Reed Bishop: Man of Hawai'i. Honolulu: 1966, p. 162.

[25] Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, "The Story of the Hawaiians," The Mid-Pacific Magazine, Volume XXI, No. 2, February 1921.